

A Caueat for France,
vpon the present euils that
it now suffereth.

Together with the remedies
necessarie for the same.

Translated out of French into English by E. Aggas.



LONDON
Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe.
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**A warning vnto France concerning her present
calamities: together with the remedies ne-
cessarie for the same.**



Hese three yeares and more hath *France* been tormented with this war. The wiser sort did in their iudgements foresee the mishaps, and the foolish by the feeling thereof are waxen wise. As well the one as the other that do indure them doo complaine both of the tediousnesse of the mischiefe, and of the slackenesse of the remedie: yea and which is more, weening to finde succour at the Phisicians hande, they finde him intangled in the same disease; and so a patient himselfe. It is expedient (as we see in this extremitie) that all good Frenchmen shoulde gather their wits together, that the patient should helpe the Phisician, yea and in some sort become a Phisician himselfe: That he should (I say) for the full atteyning to the cure enter into perfect notice, not so much of the disease which he doth but too much feele, as of the true cause that breedeth it. But we can not iudge either better or more soundly than if we ascend to the originall of these troubles, and thence as it were with a full view set before the eyes of our mindes all that haue since happened as well on the one side as on the other.

Truely it is euident, and all the world knoweth, that in the yeare 1588, about the month of March when the league began to stirre, this realme was in tollerable estate, the king imagined onely how to establish peace more and more: his subiectes gathered the frutes thereof vnder his obedience: his Maiesties minde was busied, not so much about the consolidating of the wounds of his realme, which the peace had already reduced into scars, as to restore it into the former dignitie, force and strength. The borderers began already in part to respect her, and in part to feare her: and vndoubtedly a few such yeares would haue reduced our *France* into a state rather to be enuied than enuious of the former.

The league which had long bin practising against the state of this realme did suddenly and to no purpose break off the

happie course that we had taken, whereof the house of Guise procured themselves to be tearmed Captaines and leaders. A forreine house, neither was it meete (for it had beene against nature) that *France* should be molested or ouerthrowen by other then strangers, yea it seemes almost fatall that these men should do it, whose fathers and ynkles had stirred vp all the former mischieues in this Realme.

It may be that some bitter iniurie might heereafter haue brought the subiect out of his right byas and wrongtully armed him against his Prince or countrie: or a mans desperate estate, who willingly would amend himself with others losse. But these are vehement passions which do not alwaies harken ynto reason: howbeit in this case that was no such matter. For those of this house helde and did possesse the greatest benefits and chiefe dignities of this realme, and all this through the bountie of our kinges: and as for fauour, authoritie and credite about his maiestie, they had more than the princes of his blood, how catholikes soeuer, who neuertheless did in silence and patience beare therewith, preferring, as alwaies they haue done, the least tear or grieve of the people before their owne iust sorrowes. These men (as all the world knowe) did enioy their soules in libertie, their honours in authoritie, their liues in safetie, and their goods in tranquillitie. All causes that might breed discontentment were farre from them: and all such as may make a subiect content, they had: yea they had them in such measure that they wanted no more, but to reigne: and indeede (to lay the truth) that also rather in title than in power or effect.

Hereupon who so list well to consider what might mooue them to stirre vp our estate which was in quiet, or not to be able to beare their owne which was as good as might be wished, shall bee forced in these men to confesse an ynbrideled and infinite ambition which cannot be tamed by any apprehension of the ouerthrow of a state, together with the extreme miserie and calamitie of so many millions whom it entangleth, which likewise could neuer bee limited with so much authoritie, greatnesse, and honour, sufficient (as they were well diuided) to content all *France*.

It was (as it was very well noted euen at that time) correspondent

spondent to the auncient purpose of their predecessors who
 made themselves *Charlemagnes* heires, so to ground a pre-
 tence to this realme, and perceiuing that they could find no
 hope to come to their purpose so long as it continued whole,
 endeoured by the continuation of the troubles, to scatter
 and destroy it. And indeede these men a yeare or two before
 procured a booke to be printed purposely, which (though
 falsely) prooued them to be discended from thence, and so
 consequently true heires, and our kinges vsurpers of the
 crowne, for the which the auctor made amendes honorable
 in the kinges full counsaile. But when they see the Duke of
Anjou deceased, the king to haue no children, and the king
 of *Nauarre*, chiefe Prince of the blood, through his religion
 (as they thought) estranged from the peoples fauour, they
 imagined the way to be then open to their extreeme ambi-
 tion, and the season to growe fitte for the hatching of their
 dristles. Then beganne they afresh to kindle their practises
 and conuenticles to search out all malcontentes, whether
 iustly or wrongfully, to treat with the king of *Spaine*, and such
 other potentates as euilied our realme, wherof in short space
 sprong vp this cursed warre of the *League*, which since hath
 kindled and consumed our poore estate. Then by their pub-
 like protestation they required the king to name his heire,
 and the same a catholike prince, namely, the Cardinall of
Bourbon, so to exclude the king of *Nauarre*. This did they, be-
 cause that they knew that they could not climbe so high but
 by degrees, and they would either gouerne or rule in *France*
 vnder the wings of the said Cardinall: and now imagine you
 what a presupposition this was, had there beene no deceit,
 that the said lord Cardinall a prince alreadie verie old, should
 suruiue our king being in the flower of his age. The king of
Nauarre, whither by his right or by his vertue stopped their
 passage: hereupon they declare him to be an heretike, and so
 do pretend him to bee deprived of all the rights belonging
 to the blood of *France*: but note that the king of *Nauarre* al-
 waies protested that he submitted himselfe to a free counsell,
 offering thereby to be instructed, and protesting that vntill
 then he could not be deemed an heretike. They do so feare
 least hee shoulde returne into the *Romish church*, and thereby

their practises be ouerthrowen, that whereas were they moued by charitie or religion, they should open him the way; they do now shut the gate against him, denouncing him to be a relaps, & fallen againe into heresie, and so consequently incapable to holde any dignitie, much lesse to reigne in the Church. Also whereas he had pertinently answered, that whosoever is not first denounced an heretike can not be declared a relaps: that hauing submitted himselfe to a counsaile, he can not, but by the same, be condemned: moreover, that whatsoever hee did being forced by extremitie can not bee so imputed vnto him as to make him a relaps.

Contrarie to all these so peremptorie reasons: contrary to all the doctors, and contrarie to all the Cannons of the Church, they doo stirre vp Pope *Sixtus* bull, the Popes (I say) whome they haue circumuented, as himselfe hath confessed, who without anie formalitie, and contrarie to all forme dooth at once declare the saide lorde king and the late lorde Prince, vncondemned, vnheard, yea vncalled, to be heretikes, relapsed, and excommunicate, and so fallen from all rightes both present and to come. A bull whereby they pretende to haue a free iudgement to exclude these princes, who stopped them in the midde way: but indeede such a one as contrariwise is alreadye preiudged both by the kings and parliaments of this realme, who haue condemned and openly reiected it, as erring both in matter and forme.

Thus are they ridde, as they thinke, of these two the neereest princes, but nowe there rest the Catholike princes of *Bourbon*, against whome these exceptions cannot be opposed: for as for the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, it is enough for them that hee liue so long, as for the nourishing of their authoritie they shall stande in neede of him, as being past age and danger: thus thinke they to get them children: Then against the Catholike princes descended of the late lorde prince of *Conde*, they arme themselues with another exception brought into consequence out of the bull: That is, that the saide lorde prince their father died an heretike denounced, whereby hee had forfeited all his rights

rights and actions both for himselfe and his: neither let the duke of *Montpensier* or his posteritie weene to escape; though being engendred of a father as deuout a Catholike prince as euer was, for hauing likewise followed their vagaries in this point. For they of the league doo thinke by their principles to haue well enough provided for them: in that they write that the crowne is theirs before either *Merouee*, *Charlemaine*, or *Capet*: This is then long before *Saint Lewes*, from whome they are descended: when by their bookes, they pretende that beyonde the tenth degree, there is no longer succession neither in heritage, fees nor kingdomes, and so consequentslie wee must haue recourse to a newe election: for all the rest of the house of *Bourbon* are farre beyond that: When to the ende to raise vp the foundations of this estate they do by expresse bookes call into doubt the *Salike* law, whereby it hath so manie ages defended it selfe from strangers, to the ende that after this no alteration may seeme strange.

These were the discourses which they published in their writings scattered among the people at the beginning of this warre, whereby their drifts did evidently appeare to all wise men. The king had no children, neither was there any great hope, thought they, that euer he should get any. The Cardinall of *Bourbon* was vnmarried, and vnder his shadow their power might serue against the rest of the princes. The king of *Nauarre*, and late prince of *Conde*, were denounced heretikes: the Lords princes of *Contie*, Cardinal of *Vendosme* and Earle of *Soissons* descended of a prince that fancied heresie, & so by vertue of the bull, entangled in the like degradation: The duke of *Montpensier* and princes of *Ombes* verie farre off, yea beyond the tenth degree, which (said they) stopped vp their gate to the succession, and opened another to the election of a newe prince. Thus you see, they haue ridde and swept the way to come to the crowne, neither is there anie other question but to imploy labour and force whereby to bring the state violently into their facultie.

The enterprise was high & difficult: for the Frenchmans nature still draweth to the right: It was a harde matter thus to exclude a prince in respect of some diuersitie in religion,
yea,

yea such a one as craueth to bee instructed in a counsell: also the house of *Bourbon* hath so well these many ages deserued of the state, and that is so well imprinted in their minds, & as it were incorporate into all good Frenchmen, that they were in great doubt, lest the wrong that shoulde bee done thereto would bee verie sensible to all the degrees in *France*. It was therefore necessarie for them to be assisted by some forreine, rich & mighty prince, who to that end they were to cal into part. Whereupon, before the blow they practised with the king of *Spaine*: they got great sums of mony from him, which they distributed among their partakers: they promised as a pledge of their faith to commit into his hands the best townes that they could take, namely *Bourdeaux* and *Marseilles*, which they made sure account of: farther alluring him with some hope to procure the crowne to fall into his daughters hands, by abolishing the *Salique* law: and to begin withall, they should bring him into *Brittain*. Matters discovered by their owne letters and remembrances: matters which the king and his especiall seruants know well enough: yea they had gone so farre that the said king of *Spaine* a while had his armie readie and vnder saile to fall thereupon, had he not in time beene preuented: yea hee had his reasons readie composed by the Spanish doctor, whereby he pretended to iustifie his discent in *Britaine*, as by right vnto him appertaining, euen as hee had made his vsurpation in *Portugall*. Their discourse was (for they supposed theselues to be craftie enough to cause all the ambition in the world to bow vnder theirs) that this prince was old and decrepit, and could not liue manie yeares: that at his decease hee shoulde leaue his estates scattered and in danger of troubles, which woulde keepe his heires from looking any farther: and that in the meane time they should get helpe and succour in their present necessitie, and that it rested onelie hereafter to looke to that might happen.

But this prince, who is but too skilfull in his owne affaires was wise enough to take his time for the obtaining from them as an earnest pennie, a great piece of seruice, yea such as peraduenture will boile for euer in this realme. For perceiving that his states of the low countries had sent their deputies

puties to the king to yeeld themselves into his armes and to giue him their persons. For a first seruice that he demandeth of our masters of the League, he willeth them to take armes at the verie instant that his maiestie was to resolue vpon the propositiō of the said estates, otherwise he protesteth against them & meaneth not in time to come any way to assise them with his habilitie : whereby they were driuen to hasten their entering into armes certaine monethes before their time : whereof it insued that the state was troubled, the said deputies sent away without doing any thing, and the crowne frustrate of that great and goodly increase that was then offered. Hereby therefore let all *France* iudge of the nature indeed strange of the captaines of this League, who to the end to warrant the *K. of Spaine* from an vncertaine losse, doe cast this realme into an assured shipwracke: who do redeeme the Spaniards danger with the Frenchmans death and his diminution, with the vnter subuersion of *France*.

But these their wicked intents did they cloake with verie beautifull pretences : for the vppermost painting was a certaine deuotion, a zeale to the church: as if the king, who was an example to all men, stood in need of armed solliciters to bring him into the way : but this hypocrisie was likewise as soone descried through the visarde. And indeede the king by an expresse decree declared them to be rebels and guiltie of treason : and so would haue all his good subiectes to take them : yea, and to the same end he writ to his courts of Parliaments, to all his bailifs and stewards, and to his principal townes : and aduertised his ambassadors resident with forreine princes, charging them to lay open their conspiracie against his person and crowne, expresse commanding all good Frenchmen to ouerrunne them and their adherents, and desiring all princes his neighbours, allies, and confederates to assise him against these with both men and monie. These dispatches, I say, which his maiestie sent euerie way both within and without the realme, do faithfullly shew what his iudgement was of them when he termed them *Partakers of a publike peace vnder a false shadow of religion*: when in expresse termes he confesseth, that they shoot not at his crown onelie, but also at his person : likewise the speeches which

with his own mouth, he vsed both in the Parliament & town house, which wee all may yet remember. And this profession was neither suborned nor wrested by art or by force, but put forth of his owne and the most inward motion of his minde: for, as it hath sufficientlie since appeared, what force or counsaile had hee about him to vrge him against the league, albeit contrariwise there were some neere to his maiestie that vsed violence in their behalves.

And in deede his commandements were then so taken and construed, neither was there anie subtiltie sought out but according to the bare letter: for sundrie companies of those of the league that were in sundrie places defeated by the gouernors and the dukes of *Loiense* and *Espenon*, with his maiesties forces made open warre against them, as also the lord Marshall *Maignon*, with the aduise of the court of parliament of *Bourdeaux* imprisoned the lord of *Vaulac* their partaker, and thrust him forth of *Castle Trowpet*, and likewise the lord great prior gouernour of *Trouenay*, apprehended those that had enterprised in the behalfe of the league against the towne of *Adarfoilles*, and were fauored with the succour of sixe gallies of *Florance*, which waited the execution of their purpose, to the ende to take possession in the king of *Spaines* name, whose proces was made by the Parliament of *Aix* with great solemnitie, according to the tenure whereof they were put to death in *Marseilles*. These synodall testimonies and soueraigne decrees were sufficient interpreters of the kings intent against those of the league, and the rather because these witnesses, iudges and executioners were the verie same that sawe deepest into the kings inward minde, as hauing shewed greatest rigour to the *Hugonots* in the former warres, and were therefore to them suspected of stomacke in matter of their religion, but free from all suspicion, or exception to those of the holy league.

Now let vs note the behaviours and actions of the king of *Navarre* at the same time: hee see himselfe personallie assaulted, hee perceived that hee was both the subiect and object of those of the league: The speech was of no

more collected place than in the court of hand, as the

lesse matter, then to take from him both his life and honour, and to murder all that hee loved, or that ioued him. This had beene enough in some to haue bred a sturditie rather then a patience: It was enough to haue moued a warre abruptlie, much more to defend himselfe from that which was already moued. On the other side hee perceined the King highlie offended against the league: hee sawe that hee daylie wrote vnto him, that hee tooke both the quarrell, and the warre to bee his owne: that hee perceiued that they shotte both at his estate and life: That his name and religion were but pretences; but withall, that it was requisite to let his people vnderstande as much, whome vnder the false shadowe of religion they had miscarried from their duties. This, besides the equitie of the cause, had also beene enough to arme him both with title and authoritie against the League: And had hee thus taken armes, no man woulde haue blamed him, whereas through want of dooing it in time, hee now findeth himselfe in trouble. In the meane time hee besides the right and naturall feeling, being neuerthelesse (as all men knowe) wise enough in each other thing, did yet resolve himselfe from the Kings hande to waite for the remedie for these mischieues. Hee containeth all his friendes and seruants in patience, and the Protestant townes in peace and silence: hee disposeth himselfe to serue his maiestie vpon his token, and in time conuenient: hee will not for his owne part vndertake anie thing, which may either kindle this war (which seemed to happen fitlie for him against the League) or that anie way may bee a let to the quenching thereof.

Contrariwise (and indeede wee must needes remember it) these were the speeches which for the maintenance of peace hee then vsed. In matter of religion hee declared to the King, also to the states and all degrees of this realme: that hee had beene therein euen from his youth brought vp: That after he came to yeares of discretion, he had neither seene nor heard any thing that might turn him therfro. That he beleeued that hee was in the right way of saluation,

wherein hee had perscuered in the midst of dangers; and maugre the intisements of the world: Neuerthelesse that he was readie to learne of the Church in a free Councell, whether hee would bring both aptnesse and attention to learne: for it did euidentlie enough appeare that his perscuerance in his religion was neither ambition, nor obstinacie; that ambition, if he were therewith possessed, might be much better satisfied on the other side; as for obstinacie, it was too preiudiciall vnto him, sith it consisted vpon his quietnes, honour and state. That at this day as well in this realme as throughout Christendom these matters were growne to these termes wherein euen the colledge of *Sorbonne* was wont to say, that either part shoulde beare with other, without taxing each other with heresie vntill a good counsell consented vnto and accepted by both partes had concluded and decreed therupon: that is a great number of learned men of either side, townes, prouinces, nations, common wealthes, & whole estates, holding as well for the one as for the other. A most certaine argument that all these will not of a iolite damne themselves: Arguments likewise that the controuersie resteth in matter disputable, sith that among all nations and so contrarie climats, all sortes of people doo cleaue thereto, yea after a thousand torments euen to the death. Wherefore Christiandome hath nowe as great neede as euer to haue a free and lawfull counsell. That the counsell of *Trent* could not bee alledged to haue beene such wherein the parties were hearde: wherein also the partie most accused; and which needed greatest reformation sat as iudge: and against the which our most Christian kings immediatly after the battell of *Dreux*, together with many wise Princes, expressly by their Embassadours protested nullitie, and namelie because therein they would not deale with reformation of doctrine to the rule of the holie scriptures, but onely in outward shewe. Whereupon euen in the most rigorous times, and after the bloodie *Bartholomew* it was reiected both by the masters of *Sorbonne* and the courtes of paliamment of this realme: that in matters of lesse consequence the primitive Church neuer denied the reiterating of counsailes. That the counsell of *Basil* had bound:

bound the Pope and the church of Roome to holde a councell euerie tenne yeares, a tearme alreadie expired since that at *Trent*.

Againe howe farre more seemely it were for the Church, and with howe much lesse perill to this realme to reiterate a councell than a ciuill warre, a conference in wordes, than a battaile? That particularly his person and dignitie were of such importance that they could not well denie him this path to iustice, considering that sometime there had bin three or foure Councils holden for the reclaiming of some one priuate person onely: considering also that the statutes of this realme, sworne ynto the king and his counsell, allowed by his courts of Parliament, &c. had foreiudged of this case, forbidding the title of heresie in both partes, and expressly suspending it vntill the decision of some free and holy Councell.

Concerning their pretence of the state, the said lord King most humbly besought his Maiestie and admonished all the states of this realme to consider how vnfit a thing it were of it selfe, and principally for these men, to intrude themselves into such nouelties: that the king was not of any such age, that with the knife at his throte he was to be forced to nominate his successour to this Realme, especially considering what successour they pretended to force him to name, whom they ought not to presuppose to be able by the course of nature to out line his Maiekie. Also that in case matters were at that point, yet were there other more practisable meanes and such as time out of mind had beene put in practise in this estate: but to anticipate a danger to come with a present one, an vncertaine with by an vnfallble, a suite of a matter not yet fallen, by a ciuill warre, was as much as to preuent a feare with death it selfe and a sickenesse with a poyson. That of this warre begunne vpon a iolitic must needs ensue the ouerthrowe of the people, the diminishing of the nobilitie, the empouerishment of the clergie, the annulling of all godlinesse, the bastardie of iustice, the abolishing of all good lawes, the totall corruption of manners: to be brieft, confusion in al things and desolation of the whole estate. So farre should we be from looking for that beautifull

reestabliſhment and new golden world which they promiſe for euerie warre is an instrument of deſtruction, but eſpecially the ciuill, which is a headlong deſolation, as beeing the ſharpeſt diſeaſe of a ſtate. Moreouer albeit hee were of ſuch calling in this realme that whatſoeuer concerned him ought thoroughly to be conſidered as touching his Maieſtie and the common wealth, yet ſith they had taken him for their aduerſarie, hee moſt humbly beſought his Maieſtie, either to the end to eſchew the danger of his perſon, to ſuffer him to end this warre with them, as being aſſured to finde friendes and ſeruants enough to compaſſe it, ſo as he ſhould not neede to trouble himſelf therabout, either elſe for auoyding the deſtruction of the people, to determine it by a combate of his perſon againſt the D. of Guize & the late lord Polſice againſt the D. of Maine the Captaines of this conſpiracie, as being aſſured that God who ruleth the weapons, is able enough to reuocate his iudgements in their puniſhment.

Neither propounded he theſe thinges in any flying pamphlets ſubiect to diſaduaſe, as many of theſe are, but in formal and authentical manner, viz. by declaration written & ſigned with his owne hand bearing date the tenth of Iune 1585. and preſented to his Maieſtie by the lords of Clermont and Chaffin-court, and in a full aſſembly of the priue Councell read word by word in his Maieſties preſence, the ſaid lords of Clermont & Chaffin-court requiſiting his Maieſtie not to miſtake that it were exhibited to our Maſters of the court of Parliament of Paris. As alſo to the ſame effect the ſaid lord king of Navarre did write to our Maſters of the Court, whom he deſired to iudge and beare witnes of his behauiour, to our Maſters of the three eſtates, each one ſeuerally foretelling the miſchiefes that he foreſaw and which themſelues haue ſince ſcene to our Maſters of Bourboigne who iudged his ſubmiſſions to be not pertinent, & contrariwiſe condemned the raſhnes vſed againſt him. To the Princes & common wealths, neighbours, & confederate with this eſtate, who partly by the ſuccour which they haue ſince ſent him for his defence, & partly by their counſaile to the king, to miniſter iuſtice vnto him do ſufficiently ſhew what their iudgements are, as being far from our paſſions: of the ambitio of the auctors of the league,

of

of the king of *Nauarre* moderation and patience, of the good entertainment that the one deserueth at the kings hands, and of the punishment due vnto the other.

Finally the fatalitie which seemeth to thrust forward this poore estate to her destruction: also the collusion of bad counsellors, who willingly do set to their shoulders, & are in troth fatalitie it selfe, caused that the king of *Nauarre* might not be heard in his iust declarations, caused peace to be made with the league to his cost, and caused that his patience was imputed to him for a transgression, and contrariwise, the violence of these of the league allowed and acknowledged for a notable service.

The king of *Nauarre* did through his discretion, considering the constellation that then reigned together with the muttering conspiracies then practised, sufficiently foresee that they meant to dissolve the whole cloud vpon him, for the safetie of others. To hold the roome that he held in this realme, & to haue so great interest in all treaties the made & not to be called, neither so much as to be once spoke withal, was sufficient to make him beleue that the treame with thole of the league was indeed a contract against him, & the concluding of a peace with the, was a plain denouncing of war against him. Neither wanted he aduise or perswasions from his partakers, who seeing theselues in euident danger reprobued his ouerlong patience, wherefore they saw well that they must suffer. Al which notwithstanding he neuer feared: but reposed his confidence in God the protector of his right and innocencie, vpon the king & Queene mothers word, who had so often & expressly promised him that they would neither doo nor suffer to be done any thing to his harme or the preiudice of the edicts of peace. And indeed who would haue imagined that for strangers sakes they would haue sacrificed their owne domesticals? or stanchd the insatiable thirst of those of *Lorraine* with the shedding of the french blood and losse of their owne?

Well, peace was concluded with those of the league: their edict of peace was a decree of banishment against the king of *Nauarre*, the late lorde Prince and their partakers. To be brieft, al the war was at once & without knowing any cause why, turned against this poore Prince and the french armies

put into the hands of the house of *Lorraine* for the executing of this violent edict with all outrage. A matter neuer before heard of in any iustice: (but likewise who will seeke iustice among so many iniustices) that the parties, considering their stomackes, should be made both commissioners and executioners in their owne plea? But will you plainly see that the causes which in their writings they alleage for their iustification, were but vaine pretences? They had promised reliefe to the people, reestablishment of dignitie to the Nobilitie, and the auncient authoritie and libertie to the Clergie, and to the same end of some they had gotten the persons & from others the coyne: howbeit when they came to treat, there is no speech of any such matter: they had sworne to the lord Cardinall of *Burbon* that they would cause him to be nominated successour to the crowne: yea they would rather be buried then depart therefro: that likewise they had forgotten. Their onely drift was, to be still armed, vnder whatsoever pretence, and to place all their family in good governments or in the strongest holdes: and hauing once wonne that point they presumed themselves to the arbitrators of *France*. And in deede, for the compassing thereof they renounce the rest, they renounce them to the people, to the Nobilitie and Clergie, to the eminencie of the state, and to the zeale of the Church. But al this is found to be swallowed and drowned in their particular ambition, and since that time wee haue seene no more of it, there hath bene (I say) no mention or memorie thereof.

Thus do we see on the one part these of the league thorough their violence armed with the kings name and armor, and on the other side, the king of *Nauarre* furnished with the kinges will, (but vnarmed) against the league. All that hee can get is certaine secret excuses: *That they are verie sorrie for it: but they could not otherwise rid their handes: that they must needs yeeld to this rage, &c.* In the meane time on euerie side they came vpon him: the edict of pacification is infringed in fauour of the league: throughout the realme are nothing but proscriptions and banishments: such as assisted the king against the league, being both sent for and commaunded by his Maiestie, of good seruants, euen in one day, are become
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offenders : yet can he not at once abandon all patience: hee will commune with the D. of *Montmerencie*, a peere of *France*, and chiefe officer of the crowne, one that is not suspected of religion. They meete at *S. Paule of Cadeiou* in *Alby*: they remaine there certaine dayes to conferre : his Maielties deputies are heard giue out the speeches aforesaide, whereupon they resolute manfully to withstande the mischiefe, which otherwise is remediless, the king of *Nauarre* : the late lorde Prince and the Duke of *Montmorencie*, neuertheles by an expresse protestation of the tenth of August declaring that to their great greife through this precipitation they are forced to haue recourse to weapons: that as all the world knoweth, they haue tollerated vntill all extremitie, but that seeing the enimie readie to fall vpon them they could doo no lesse, but take counsaile both of necessitie and nature. That they had offered and againe did offer in matter of religion to yeeld to a free counsell, and in matters of state to a lawfull conuocation of the states, yea to submit themselues to the hazard of a combate, albeit with their inferiors, rather then to see the desolation of this state and calamitie of so much people: but if either violence or bad counsaile had stopped vp their eares to their iust reasons, that they declared before God and all the good subiects of this lande, that they had not taken armes but for the kinges authoritie and libertie manifestly oppressed, yea and that with his owne consent voluntarily testified by so many his declarations, letters, decrees and ordinances : that they neither haue nor will haue for enemies any other then those who of his owne meere motion he had denounced enemies to his life and the peace of his realme : that in respect of religion they would make no distinction of the kings subiectes, but would cherish and embrace them all with like affection and countenance, only requiring them to the end to be the better distinguished, to separate themselues both from the counsailes and dealings of the league : protesting all the miseries and calamities that this estate is to suffer to be vnto them both sensible and sorrowful, who are the bloud and members thereof, but not so to those that are but grafted in & that verie slightly, moreouer from the bottome of their soules calling for Gods wrath and curse against the

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Authors of so many mischiefes and vpon their practises and enterprises, a vow which God hath in troth heard, if we list to see it throughout the whole progresse of this warre of the league.

Well, the war was earnestly begun, & see, we are now come to the third yeare: now let vs call to mind the goodly speeches they then vsed to bring vs in tast with it. The king *Nauarre* (saide they) within a fewe monthes would be shut vp in some one of his houldes without all hope of succour and forced to forsake the realme, & not to find any assured place where to sojourn. The Protestants hands within the first yere should in part yeelde for feare at the first brunt of their weapons, & in part be won by force if they obstinately durst resist.

For the seconde yeare they should not haue past three or foure left, & those, by their saying, rather to practise then to trouble the. As for their succour, it was but in vaine to speak of any: for they had taken so good order in *Germany* that there could be no leaue made for the king of *Nauarre*, and if there should, yet did they promise to fight with it, yea euen to go to seeke it to the verie borders of the *Rhine*.

The foolisher sort & such as with their passions were drunken, beleued these things and felt euen to the bottomes of their purses to see these miracles, so stoutly affirmed by these triaclers. If wise men, & experienced captaines purposed to declare all these things to be vaine. If they alleaged that our kings had employed 25. yeres in vaine: that there was neuer a sinew in this realme but had bin strained, or neuer a veine but had bin launced & drawen dry, then they said that these enterprisers were of a far other sort, & that they knew other secrets the they found. So greatly doth the worlde delight to be deceiued at her own colt, yea so far doth this age (enemie of her felicity) delight to abandon her selfe to the first potticary. Now let vs see what this mountaine will bring forth.

The kinges armies are deliuered to the authors of the league: the king abandoneth all his force and authoritie into their hands: they also without sparing do put thereto as much as their credite wil reach. They haue *Lancknights*, *Switzers* and *Reisters*, the Clergie do endeouour themselves to pay these armies, euē with the sale of their temporalities, though

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not without repentance: the king and his people do spende foure yeares profit in one: the king of *Spaine* employeth one part of his *Indies*: to be brieft, in this realm we haue now that which was neuer seene before, viz. eight armies at once in the field, and euerie of them able to besiege, euerie of them painfully employed, each in his quarter.

In the meane time the king of *Nauarre* hath all this while neither succour nor assistance from any place: all his enimies haue condemned him to the death, and al that loued him do dispaire of him. What may a iust cause do in the assurance of a courage against all endeours? this Prince was neuer seene stoupe lesse, & that doth euerie one know, or set himself more stiffely against aduersity: but indeed, what is not the almighty able to warrant those that walke vprightly? He breathed vpon all these armies, and they scattered of theselues before they had doone any thing: sauing there was some sconce or village take which cost vs millions, neither doth it appeare that euer they were, vnclesse by the destructiō of the countrey or desolatiō of the people. For in the weakening of the king of *Nauarre*, or of his partakers, nothing can be knowen.

Now let vs (I pray you) grow to account & leaue robbing of our owne purie. In the gouernment of *Guyen* they haue both employed and displayed all their miracles and powers: who then would not rather haue *Taillebourg*, *Royan*, *Talmont* and *Fontenay* then *Monsegur* S. *Bazeile* & *Castillon*? And *Castillon* I say, the labor & triumphes of the L. of *Mayne*, the sepulchre of so many mē, & the bottomles gulph of so much coin, recouered againe by the L. of *Turenne* in one houre with ten shillings worth of ladders? In *Languedocke* who wold change *S. Pons*, *Lodene* & *Capestan* for *Marneiol*? or in *Dauphine* wherewith shall wee counterpeize *Montlimar*, *Ambrun* and *Die*? And all this gotten in one night with ten pound of powder: whereas a small castle must cost vs both monethes, storehouses and armies: neither can we say that in recompence hereof they haue lost more men. For it is well enough knowen that the assailant alwaies looseth a hundred for tenne. The ouerthrow of the L. of *Vins*, the recouery of *Montlimar* & the battaile at *Contra* would say somewhat hereof where we lost so much nobility without any reciprocall losse on their side,

where also so much good French bloud was prodigally spilled, which might haue beene better employed else where, whereof also wee imagine our selues well comforted poore wretches that we are, when in the pallace they rore out vnto vs the ouerthrowe of the *Switzers*. And all this afore mentioned did he without any forreine succour, albeit both *England* and *Germanie* did in the beginning make sufficient shew there of their goodwils to this prince and his affaires. Whome God thus guided through his wonderfull prouidence to the end euery man might well perceiue that the king of *Nauarre* and his alone & without any support might be able to maintaine themselves against the league: that the people likewise might note their fraude and boasting when they made this enterprise so easie, and so became wiser and lesse passionate hereafter: but especially that such as feare God and do assure themselves to march vnder the conduct of his prouidence might the more evidently perceiue his blessing ouer the iustice and innocencie of this prince, more evidently (I say) in his weakenesse then in his force, and contrariwise his wrath and curse ouer the violence & iniuries of those of the league in the greatnes of their power and vanitie of their effects.

But marke now I pray you, Now that they be recreant & able to do no more, the king of *Nauarre* whom they should haue chosen to the end of the world, doth in our view keepe the field, forceth our townes with the Canon, gathereth new strength, and before our noses in the midst of *France* dare giue vs battaile, and neuer vouchsafe to attende the succour that he is farre of. Beholde also on the other side the strangers came in with a mightie and terrible armie which these our masters should haue through their diligence choaked in *Germanie*, or at the least haue defeated vpon the border of *Rhine*: and yet euen in their presence it passeth the heart of *Lorraine*, goeth through all their governments without anie one alaram, and is felt euen in our bowels: and when these good marriners haue cast vs into the storme, or brought vs vpon the rocke, not knowing to what saint to vow themselves, they leaue vs to the oare, and without any speech steale themselves into the skiffe, accounting themselves sufficiently discharged with a *sane who sane can*.

Truly

Truelie it is now therefore time for vs to thinke vpon our affaires, for we haue let our selues runne too farre after their wrongfull passions : Too late doo wee perceiue their malice and our rashnesse, for long since haue they purposed to take to themselves spoile of our owne wrecke. It is high time for vs all with like endeouours to set hande vnto that holy anker which is able to warrant our vessell from shipwracke, and which onely in this perill may stand vs in steede of a hauen.

To what purpose, will yee say, is all this large discourse? Truelie to the end wee may rather late then neuer perceiue that we prosecute a wrongfull and vnprofitable warre, and therefore that by some end we shorten the course of our follies. Wrongfull I say, and therefore we are assured of Gods curse vpon our soules, vnprofitable also, for who can prosper against Gods will? And what haue wee in the course of these three parts scene, but a meere going backward and funerals in lieu of triumphes? But you will reple, In whome is the fault that we haue not peace? also howe often haue wee caused it to bee motioned? went not the queene into *Poison* to the king of *Nauarre*? But this prince (men say) is shie, and will not easily bee handled: truely with all such as haue not haunted him he is to bee pardoned though they thinke him not tractable: for considering howe hee hath euer since his youth beene intreated, they may haue good cause so to belecue, sith the most patient man in the world might haue grown out of patience, the most phlegmatike into choler, the easiest and most tractable, to bee distrustfull, backward and implacable.

But let vs iudge of his humors by his behauiours: he came to the warre vpon great extremitie and that as late as hee could: it is then to bee beleueed that he will not be slacke to come to peace: he saw himselfe and his partaker persecuted with all rigor, confiscate, banished, disgraced, condemned, executed, murdered, and all vnder colour of the religion which he professed: all which notwithstanding hee neuer altered his manner of proceedings: hee neuer molested anie for religion: hee kept their promised liberties and safetie: hee preserved vnder his protection such Catholikes as were:

not of the League, yea he pardoned euen those of the league and being taken after the heate of armes hee gratified them, and if he vled a contrerigour wee could not tell what to say : for wee all doo sufficientlie knowe that the first is guiltie of the second . Wee must therefore confesse that hee hath a verie temperate minde, besides his nature : hee I say, whome so manie wronges, griefes and iniuries could neuer make passionate or to alter. It hath also beene sufficientlie noted that so long as there was anie hope to see him ouerthrowne: or that his enemies had anie aduantage of him, they were still assisted with all helpe, without anie spare : they neuer propounded vnto him anie meete condition : albeit the next daie after a victorie of his, hee sendeth to the King, hee bewaileth with him the shedding of so much blood as is spilt, hee offereth with all his heart to doo him seruice in the stanching thereof : hee returneth most of the prisoners of account, either infinitelie commending his curtesie, or if they conceale it, of all men condemned of ingratitude.

Truelie he, who being rashlie delt with in so manie sackings, and yet was neuer seene out of course, no not being caused with full bridle, cannot but haue a sure heade and mouth, neither is there any let, but in our good helpe, that he may do verie well. To be brieft, in his aduersitie wee haue seene him victorious, in his prosperitie a conqueror of himselfe : in the forest smart of his iniuries cleane from all reuenge, in the swiftest slidings of his good happe, void of insolencie : alwaies readie to admit the reasons of such as haue offended him particularlie, and to giue ouer his most boyling passions to common benefite. Let vs then beleue that hee flieth not from peace, but desireth it : and that he is not so shie and malicious as men make him. But indeed the Rose pricketh when we doo not take hold of it where we should, and if we consider well, we shall see that all that hath yet ben done, and as it seemeth of set purpose, hath tended onelie to driue him into dispaire.

To prooue this to bee so, let vs see howe they haue dealt with those of the League, and howe with the king of *Naharrs* : hee a household childe, they strangers, not
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so much as of the familie, though they bee of the realme. The *Guizians* are not so soone (though without cause) vp in armes, but the Queene, all thinges set aside, goeth to them, yea shee seeketh after them euen to the lands ende: them, who had they beene couragiously assailed, were not able anie whit to abide it. Contrariwise the King of *Nauarre* beeing for the safetic of his owne person, constrained to take armes, is left alone fifteene whole monethes to drie vp the blowes, hee is on all sides shotte at, to make an ende of him: so long as they thinke to see him either besieged or beaten, they speake neuer a worde, but waite the ende: But when his enimies are no longer able to assaile him: when they haue discharged euen their last peece in vaine, when hauing long time fenced and borne off the blowes they see him sounde and safe readie to repay them, then beginne they to vouchsafe to speake vnto him, and that as it seemeth rather to hale the enimies out of the prease, then any way to content him.

The Queene comming neere to the *Guizians* for feare of scarring them, causeth all her power to depart, ceaseth all hostilitie, letteth scape all occasions to harme them, giueth them leasure to gather together both their spirits and helpes, yea, both *Reistres* and *Suitzers*: Contrariwise (and that was the good counsaile of the good Frenchmen that assisted her) at the verie time of her comming to parley with the King of *Nauarre*, did the armie of the Lorde of *Loyense* most force it selfe in *Languedocke*, where it put all that it coulde force to fire and sworde, as also did the armie of the Lord of *Espenon* in *Prouence*: yea hardlie will she permitte after manie formalities and iournies to and fro, that the Marshall *Biron* should staie beyond *Loire*.

The Queene, to content those of the league, promiseth that the *Germanes* that come to the Kings succour shoulde not enter, and suspendeth their leauie, albeit the issue of the negotiation were doubtfull: Contrariwise shee requirerth the king of *Nauarre* for a preamble, first of al vnder the vncertaine hope of an vncertaine peace to suspende and stay his forreine armie.

But wil you see after so many ceremonies what conditions are

are propounded vnto him. That is, That all exercise of his religion cease in al the townes within his authoritie and part. That himself and all his resolute with themselves utterlie to renounce the same, and neuer more to speake of it, otherwise let him neuer looke for anie peace at the kings hands, whereas for satisfying those of the league al exercise was taken from those of the contrary religion: that is, so far as might be, they had giuen them both their bodies and soules. These are the speeches which the queene verie earnestlie commanded the lord of *Touraine* to impart to the king of *Navarre*, from the which shee neuer departed. And then thinke you what likelihood there was after fortie yeares fire, and five and twentie yeares warre that the *Hugonots* would suffer themselves to be brought backe to their A B C. yea imagine whether they whome so manie troubles, namely these last, had made cannon prooue, who durst abide the cannon in poore milnes rather then to force their consciences, were capable of this article, and that a hundred townes more, which their best armies durst not once looke vpon, would yeeld thereto. Thus was al broken off: and note in the inequalitye of the persons and causes the arduous inequalitye of the proceedings: that which ought to haue set forward this negotiation, was the cause to breake it off: For they of the league, who feare nothing so much as a peace feared also the shadow thereof: and indeede, to the ende to trouble it, the shuffeled they cardes anew, they procured the seising vpon some strong holdes in *Picardie* missed of others: places free from suspicion, especially farre from religion, yea by practises they attempted against the kings person and life: matters knowne both to their maiesties and all others, wher-vpon the Queene founded an argument to returne to his maiestie to preuent it, and so did the negotiation resolve vpon nothing, for feare of displeasing them: whereas truely it had been the meanes to reunite al *France* into one: to ioyn together againe all the blood against the common enimie of this estate, and to giue the abused euidentlie to weet, that there was no longer question of religion, and that these men had bewrayed themselves in seising vpon the Catholike townes, and in opposing themselves against the king at that verie instant, when by their suggestion he warred most sharplie

ly vpon the Protestants. Thus to the ende againe, to restore those of the league to the countrie, was the whole treatie of peace, begunne with the king of *Nauarre*, set aside, albeit the Queene had promised to sende passeports for the safetie of the deputies whom the saide king purposed to send for assistants of that treatie, whereof we haue neuer since heard any speech.

What then? must we, will you say, to the ende to obtaine peace, tollerate that religion? I would to God we were well so, and that we had no other matter then that to decide, We shall like wel enough that the Pope for a miserable gaine shall suffer the *Iewes* freely in *Rome*, and yet be tearmed *Most holie*. That the king of *Spaine*, to the end to be at rest with his *Hollanders*, by expresse treatie shall not only graunt them their religion throughout their countrie, but also abolish his own, and yet be neuerthelesse Catholike: And yet our king must forfeit his name of *Most Christian*, because he suffereth the Christians that belecue the same scriptures and beleeves that he doth: he may not forbear, vntill the decision of a councell in consideration of the Princes of his bloud, who offer thereby to bee instructed and taught in consideration of so many thousandes of soules that haue tryed both fire and sworde, and that so manie yeares: not for the obteyning of some, I wot not what gaine, but for the redeeming of a totall losse: neither for the sauing of some corner of an estate farre off, but for the warranting of al his owne realme from vtter and ineuitable ruine: yea, to be brieft, euen all that he is and all that he hath? And while wee dispute and play the Sophisters about the difference betweene a knights fee and a simple tenure, or betweene the suburbs, the citie, and the shire towne: wee perceiue not, like doltes as we are, that al retayneth into one, by the confusion of the nobilitie fallen into villenage, the townes and suburbs into heapes of destruction, and this estate, if wee prouide not betimes, into peeces?

Let vs not flatter our selues in the state of our *France*, wee I say, who doo peraduenture corrupt our selues in her and with her can not well perceiue her diminution to be such as it is, so as if we had taken a nappe of fīue and twentie yeares

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long, at our waking wee should knowe neither her nor our selues. The manners dissolued and neere to a Gangrene: the lawes no lesse venall than the offices: the consciences more than the benefites: the riches which aforetime haue beene a good state of the bodie brought into a small number, and that by bad wayes, tumours properly against nature and verie plagues to the bodie. The forces a token of weakenesse: our fathers regimentes thirtie yeares ago stronger than our armies: and their companies then our regiments: their capitaines more presumptuous at their first issue out of their pageship then their fathers after three battailes: moreouer no respect either to labour, either to desert, or to yeares, neither to degrees of either honour or nature: no more reuerence to the name of God, loue to the Prince or dutie to the countrie. These are now the diseases sufficiently discerned in our estate, but who is he that careth for it? So farte is euerie one from setting to his hande earnestly, but euerie mans delight is priuately to discourse that the state is sicke, that it falleth into decay, that he must looke to his affaires, euerie man I say with his handes in his bosome standeth gasing vpon the shipwrecke, giueth ouer his worke, looketh to cast aside some coffer or table for himselfe, and thence thinke vpon our hereditarie gouernments, one of a castle, an other of a towne, an other of a whole prouince. The small wasters do march vnder the great, and the great for the atteyning to their purpose doe league themselues vnder one head. O miserable estate! O miserable king, when his owne either citizens or subiectes in lieu of dying for him, will abandon! O miserable both citizens and subiects that build your greatness vpon their destruction: a destruction vndoubted (and who can warrant you from it) that will oppresse you all vnder it selfe.

Weene not that euer you, who vppon a rage rather then by discourse, doo wish for it, shall euer bee able to haue anie ioy of it, The vapours of your ambition doo ingender those dreames in you: kingdomes and mightie estates according to the proportion of their greatnesse, haue also their periods long, whereto mans age cannot reach: Their crises or iudgements are not gathered vpon odde daies as ours are, for their sharpest

sharpest diseases doo outlast our whole dayes. After the phifitions haue giuen them ouer they burie them, yea before themfelues doo, they burie those that are the causers of their death with all their ambition, vanitie and glorie. *Marins* and *Cesar* are downe, but the senate was at iarre long time after, and the common wealth which they had wounded did still pant. These changes are whole worlds. The fathers do die by the way: The sonnes after infinite calamities staie at the borders, yea the childrens children: when they weene to haue woone all, they are readie to be beaten from all, according to the prouerbe: To be at rest you thinke peraduenture that the vtter extinguishing of our race may breed your peace, and yet doo not marke that the eldest of them is yonger then you, and when you shall be stroken in age they shall be yong. Or I pray you doo you thinke your selues onelie in this realme ambitious? Is there euer a gentleman in *France* but when you haue brought the crowne to spoile, will not thinke to haue as good right to it as you? hauing broken the lawes, as you goe about to doo the *Salicke* lawe, doo you not call in all the neighbours to care *France* in peeces? euen those that first married the kings daughters, who will bee more fresh, mightie and rich then you to defend their titles? At whose hands when you haue done your best, and indured much mischief both you and your shall be made bondmen, yea you shall become their mocking stocks, praie and spoile, and no man to mooue you. Howe many domages must this estate encurre during these alterations? how manie good families destroied, how manie good townes laid wast? how manie widowes and orphanes? how much land be vttilled? & how many poore households must die for hunger? *France* through these long robberies will growe to a forest: The *Gothes* wil deuour the remainder of the *Hannes*; and the *Vandales* of the *Gothes*, Vpon this miserable caraine will all the Beasts of the earth feed: A thousand wormes, and a thousand serpents shall breed therein, and there ingender to gnaw it: pettie tyrants in a countrey, in a castle and in a towne. To be brieue in lieu of a scorpion, a *Basilisque*: and for an adder, a viper. But I feare, I preach theses curses to the deafe. The childes mother, when *Salomon* commanded it to be denied,

chose rather to lose it, yea to let her aduersarie haue it, then to see it cut in sunder: her blood was troubled as also were her bowels: the other respected not the diuiding of it: shee thought shee had enough if shee might haue her share, albeit bloodie and vnprofitable: so sensible are the naturall and liuelie affections, whereas contrariwise the strangers are dead vn sensible and obscure: yea so difficult is it for the French blood to conceale her natural affection to *France* and for the stranger to borrow, counterfeit or falsifie the same.

These mischiefes which the course of these warres do bring in are euident, neither was there euer other end seene: mischiefes, which if they be not speedily prevented will growe mortall and incurable: mischiefes which can not bee remedied but by peace, by a sincere and faithfull peace, which hide not an other warre in her bosome, and is free from after thoughtes, such a peace as may grant hartburnings time to quile, and duetie and amitie to reconer, which also taketh all hope and appetite from our perturbers to stirre, as not able to infringe it without loosing themselves. Such a one will it bee when the good frenchmen shall relie themselves and one beare out an other, when they shall either grant or suffer to each other what so euer shall be requisite to mutual rest, but why should they denie this one to an other, sith they all shoute at one comon marke of their saluation in the life to come? yea euerie of them for that hauing a common interest to liue or perish together, Such shall it be when euery man shall in this realme be accounted as he is: the king obeyed, the princes cherished and honored, the householders loued, the strangers in their places gratified, euery one paying & receuing both what he oweth & what is due to him, & that he also think it reasonable to preserve those who god himself hath preferred by blood, by degree or by dignitie. God who in his counsell hath foreiudged all this proces: God who doth al his works in order, and ministreth al his iudgements without passion, bring this to passe, Such, to be brieue shal it be when euerie man both for making and preserving therof, shall bring whatsoever he is or hath. The prince his faith, the magistrates their autontie, & the subiects each in his calling, their due obedience. God by his holy spirit grant vnto the
king

king (for it is he onely that holdeth it in his hande) that hee may shortly finde both the meanes and way. God grant also (for him must we winne with heartie desire and humilitie) that the people may become easie and pliable to sollicite the same with heartie desire and burning zeale.

God likewise grant all and enerie of vs well to remember all the mischieues that we haue indured, that wee may haue such a feeling as may neuer decay, to the end wee may detest all ciuill miseries, and no lesse abhorre the authors then the effects.

That also we may shortly in peace with one heart and mind in the vocation whereto God hath called vs, seeke the good and perfite health of this realme, the puritie and sinceritie of Gods seruice, and redresse of good manners and healthsome lawes, the perfite bonds of the king to the people and the superiours to the inferiours, whereof doo depend the weale, peace and prosperitie of the king, subiects and state. Amen.

FINIS.

